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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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...that grows out of the discrepancy between our traditional preaching of the principles of liberty and equality—and our obvious lapses in the practice of those two bedrock constitutional guarantees. They are partial answers to the basic question: can our present American society afford to meet simultaneously its responsibilities both at home and abroad?

Can we continue to meet our commitments to contain aggression internationally, and at the same time take the measures necessary to cure our urban and racial ills here at home?

I say definitively that we can.

This nation is immensely powerful—both in material and human resources.

Our current Defense expenditures—as heavy as they are—are only 9 percent of the GNP. That is a lesser percentage of the GNP than defense spending in most of the years of the 1950s. The taxes we pay today are billions of dollars less than the taxes we would be paying under the tax rates of the 1950s. The modest surcharge that the President is recommending—and which makes eminent sense in our highly charged economy—will represent a recision of less than half of the tax cuts this Administration has achieved.

And yet, we appear to believe that we cannot afford to achieve all that genuinely needs achieving.

We appear to believe that we are stretching our resources too thinly.

We appear to believe that we cannot simultaneously wage war against aggression abroad, and a war against poverty, urban decay, and social injustice here at home.

That we cannot afford it is a myth.

That we may choose not to attempt it, is another matter entirely.

But if we make that choice, let us make it deliberately and rationally.

Let us not make that choice because of a mere mythology—the mythology that America is not strong enough to do all that needs doing.

We are strong enough materially and technologically. We do have the resources in both money and manpower.

What we may lack is the will power.

If we do lack it, so be it. But let that be our conscious choice. Let us face the issues honestly, and admit to ourselves that we simply do not want to make the effort.

Let us not blame the lack of effort on the myth that we cannot do all that needs doing. For the fact is, we can.

We can curb aggression abroad. And we can meet our pressing social problems here at home. And we can do both at the same time if we will use wisely existing institutions and available resources.

The simple question is this: do we have the requisite faith in ourselves?

Do we have the requisite confidence in our constitutional objectives?

Do we have the requisite resolve to complete the achievements that the United States was founded less than 200 years ago to secure?

I, for one, say we do. Ladies and Gentlemen, what say you?

Thank you, and good morning.

#### GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE REAFFIRMS STATES' JURISDICTION OVER FISH AND WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I was very much pleased today to receive a copy of the resolutions passed by the National Governors' Conference at the 59th annual meeting aboard the SS *Independence* last month and to discover that the Governors have asked the Congress to reaffirm States' jurisdiction over fish and wildlife management.

Last month, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during hearings on the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area bill, I proposed an amendment which would reaffirm the same jurisdiction for the States of Utah and Wyoming.

My amendment would merely help to protect Utah's hunters and fishermen from Federal encroachment in an area where the Federal Government has no logical or legal business—the management of fish and game.

The Governors at their meeting said that they felt that the States have the basic right to conserve, manage, and regulate the use and harvest of resident species of fish and game on all lands.

The present language in the Flaming Gorge proposal would cast a shadow on State jurisdiction, and most fish and game officials feel that it would give the Federal Government virtually complete control over all fish and game matters which are currently under State control.

The Governors' resolution supports the basic tenets of my Flaming Gorge proposal, which are also encompassed in a bill (H.R. 8377) currently before the House of Representatives.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution passed by the Governors be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### REAFFIRMING STATES' JURISDICTION OVER FISH AND WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT

Whereas, since colonial times in this country, the ownership of wildlife, by law, history and tradition, has been separated from the ownership of the land, in contrast to the European system in which landowner owns the game thereon; and

Whereas, it has been held by the U.S. Supreme Court that all species of wildlife are held in trust by the individual States for the people of each State, the principal exception to this rule arising under the treaty-making power of the United States which makes the migratory bird treaties and federal legislation dealing with migratory birds pursuant to and limited by said treaties the supreme law of the land; and

Whereas, contrary to Supreme Court decisions and dictates of sound unified fish and game management policies, the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior has held, and the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, has concurred therewith, that the federal government has full and exclusive power and control over both migratory and resident wildlife on all federally-owned land:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the National Governors' Conference reaffirms the basic right of the States to conserve, manage and regulate the use and harvest of resident species of fish and game on all lands, including those lands owned by the federal government, within each individual State on which said jurisdiction has not been relinquished to the federal government; and

Be it further resolved that, to prevent further encroachment upon the States' responsibilities in the management of wildlife and fish resources, the following basic policies be adopted: the federal government, through existing international treaties and agreements, bears direct responsibility and jurisdiction over specified migratory birds, certain endangered species, basic research, certain oceanic resources, and fauna of certain territorial lands beyond the continental United States, and fish and resident species of wildlife are and should remain state resources under the direct jurisdiction and responsibility of the individual States; and

Be it further resolved that the National Governors' Conference supports the basic tenets of H.R. 8377, introduced in the First Session of the 90th Congress, which purports to declare and determine the policy by the Congress, with respect to the primary authority of the several States to control, regulate and manage fish and wildlife within their territorial limits.

#### THE PRESS AND THE BAY OF PIGS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, my attention has been called to a most provocative, carefully prepared article entitled "The Press and the Bay of Pigs," written by Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon, and published in the fall, 1967, issue of the Columbia Forum.

The article relates in detail the manner in which the American press handled or mishandled events leading up to the ill-fated attempt to invade Cuba in April 1961.

In the hope that Members of Congress, the press, Federal policymakers, and others will read this important article, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE PRESS AND THE BAY OF PIGS

(By Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon)

Aside from its other meanings, the Bay of Pigs was "also important in the history of relations between the American press and the U.S. Government," Clifton Daniel, managing editor of *The New York Times*, told the World Press Institute last year. Mr. Daniel went on to reconstruct this history insofar as it involved his newspaper. This article attempts a reconstruction on a somewhat broader basis. Such a history has permanent relevance to the democratic process; and, in any case, it is always useful to remind the press that if it worried as much about its own credibility gap as about the Administration's the country would be well served.

Early in November, 1960, Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation*, received a phone call from Paul Baran, Stanford University economist. He said that Ronald Hilton, then director of Stanford's Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies, "is just back from Guatemala. In the current issue of his *Hispanic American Report*, he writes that it is common knowledge down there that the CIA is training Cuban exiles at a secret Guatemalan base in preparation for an invasion of Cuba." Mr. McWilliams checked back with Dr. Hilton, and the result was an editorial which appeared in *The Nation* of Saturday, November 19.

"Fidel Castro," the editorial began, "may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U.S.-financed 'Guatemala-type' invasion than most of us realize." It went on to give the gist of Dr. Hilton's story, which located the base near the mountain town of Retalhuleu and said that the whole affair had been aired on the front page of *La Hora*, Guatemala's leading newspaper. The editorial ended:

"We ourselves, of course, pretend to no first-hand knowledge of the facts. . . . If Washington is ignorant of the existence of the base, or, knowing that it exists, is nevertheless innocent of any involvement in it, then surely the appropriate authorities will want to scotch all invidious rumors. . . . On the other hand, if the reports as heard by Dr. Hilton are true, then public pressure should be brought to bear upon the Administration to abandon this dangerous and hare-brained project.

There is a second reason why we believe the reports merit publication; they can,

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